[For information on the interpretation of "signs" (e.g., muscle twitches) by the shaman for purposes other than the diagnosis of disease, see category 787.]

P
C

/136 cont./

276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[756] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
P ruptedly.

273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúšayumfí

/256 cont./

771 [793] [756] [797] 771 754 [797] [177] It is not certain whether in former times the Paez had a cult priesthood besides shamans such as are practicing today. In any case, to designate the priests and missionaries they use the word tikwe, /257/ which is not used for anything else. The present-day characteristic thinking of the Paez, their entire mental attitude, revolves around magic and countermagic, despite missionizing and Christianity. No injury, no illness, no deformity, no poor livestock is traced back to natural causes, but rather everything is the work of evil magic. Since the people themselves are fully convinced of this belief and ensnared by this idea, the actual achievement of the evil sorcerers corresponds to what is desired; that is to say, a person who knows he is bewitched, being mindful of the inevitability of his fate, actually becomes 554 ill and dies. The victims are almost always the most thrifty and industrious members of the community, those who tower above the others because of their success.

754 177 There are no persons who are privileged because of age, sex, or social position -- with the exception of the good shamans, who are incessantly the target of the evil ones. Anyone who, in dress and way of living, adopts the customs of the whites, is in the habit of associating with them, no longer chews coca, works with modern tools, and wants to carry on his farming according to the principles of the colonists is opposed by the nyic.

754 554 It is not only the outward superiority of the individual over the masses that evokes the envy of the nyic, but also the general popularity of an individual, and with it a certain personal influence within the village. Thus, for example, the father of our Victoriano was the victim of an evil charm. He is regarded as very intelligent, is a good worker, knows best how to build houses and bridges, and has even undertaken a journey to the city of Popayán. On account of his popularity and the good advice he always gives -- so it is reported -- a nyic tried to kill him out of envy. One night when he was asleep the nyic robbed him of his soul. His brother noticed it, however, and spat coca on it. The next day the eye of the bewitched one became white and was close to running out, if a teyu had not helped. He is blind in that eye, however, to this day.

/263 cont./

756 fact, even the visionary sight of Thunder are worthless by them-
787 selves, if the shaman does not receive any signs. By means of them
278 the teyu discovers the cause of sickness and the means to be em-
ployed for healing it, which always consist of the dispensing of
herbs. For this reason every shaman always has his fiber bag with
all his medicinal herbs with him, in order to have them at hand
[753] and to be able to apply them at any time. Since, however, an
illness does not have a physical cause, according to the opinion
of the Paez, the herbs used for healing are not applied in accordance
with the medical experiences of the shaman, but solely in ac-
cordance with his signs.

756 The herbs used by the shamans are the following (*):
278
137
[127]

*I am taking these, as well as some other data on the shamanism of the Paez, from the excellent summary by S. Bernal Villa (III) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 323/.

ǩandúr, eš (Erythroxylon coca), biǩač (Hevea?), ǩulko (Oxalis, sp.), čáyuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.), čuwét, fisa, ečyútse čime (Labiada?), /264/ gwepekas (Urera boccifera L.), kwése (Lonchocarpus?), limonsílyo (Cymbopogon citratus), nyika, nyundayuskey, šu (Spagnum sp.), šuwés (Peperomia sp.), šulápe, šupenyí (Peperomia sp.), tātse, táyuske (Peperomia sp.), ul níny (Hibiscus abelmoschus L.), umsim (Myricia acuminata DC. Vell, aff.), vitubítskwe, wáhi (Nicotiana tabacum L.), yakúma, yúskay (Scleria cattarinensis Boeck).

●755 Most of these herbs are first chewed by the shaman and then
756 spat over the affected part. If a person is dying and his soul leaves
278 his body from the heart by way of the upper arms, the pulse of the
[774] lower arms, and the finger tips, the herb čáyuts, for example, is
spat by the shaman from the finger tips in the direction of the arm-
pits, in order to check the departure of the soul. Only rarely is a
tea brewed from the leaves.

/267 cont./

[756] like the entire culture of the Paez. For the rest, there are neither special articles of clothing or equipment nor any other kind of ceremonial gear, such as crystals, masks, or rattles.

[824] The shaman's staff consists of a smooth staff, 50 to 60 centimeters long, made out of the hard wood of the chonta palm. It is /268/ pointed at one end and semicircular in cross-section. Each shaman makes this staff for himself before treating his first [764] patient and never lets it out of his hand. When he dies, it is put into the grave with him. Before a séance begins, he sticks it into the ground, though not directly in front of him, but somewhat to the side. Only rarely does a shaman have it in his hand during the séance. As the single exception to the unadorned shaman's staff, I know of only the one belonging to old Felisa Ipia of Santa Rosa. On her staff she has tied a number of colored wool threads [774] which she spun herself and dyed with homemade dyes. She has collected in these threads the souls of all the villagers of Santa [755] Rosa. If someone in the village falls ill, she learns of it through [787] her signs or through Thunder personally and in this way is better able to help the sick person, since she can immediately blow her medicinal herbs, mixed with brandy, on the wool threads and thus can help the sick person better.

756 S. Bernal Villa points out that the designation for the shaman's 773 staff corresponds to the name of the most important culture hero of the Paez, Juan Tama, who, according to tradition, was lawgiver, famous and victorious commander of the army, first chief [976] and shaman. According to other traditions, he was the son of the stars, the son of Thunder, or Thunder himself. The present-day shamans regard the staff as a gift from Thunder, and as a sign of spiritual alliance with him. A shaman of San Andrés, reporting on the origin of the shaman staff, says that, according to the stories of the elders, the tama was introduced by Thunder himself. According to this, a man once had his hut and his potato field in the mountains. He harvested the field with his son. One day the son refused to follow his father to the field, but rather preferred to stay behind in the hut. The next day the son had disappeared

/272 cont./

776 being -- in the valley, too, near the village. He is a raging foe
[784] of everything dirty. A hunter who has not washed himself and his ruana before hunting or whose wife is in the menstruation hut at the time will be punished by him. He has the figure of a human being, sometimes that of a man, but sometimes, too, that of a woman or a child. Gĕlyómp, as well as tũs and ečˇ, can give a
776 person pest so that he will die. One can catch pest by himself
783 everywhere and on all occasions, no matter whether he is awake or
753 asleep. The pest of the three spirits mentioned is primarily caused by stings that not only enter the body, but also the soul. In the spot where they have entered the body they leave punctures that are red in color in the case of gĕlyómp, blue in the case of tũs, and black in the case of ečˇ. The sicknesses caused by gĕlyómp manifest themselves by general pain caused by the penetration of one of his hairs. This happens in the following manner: Someone is walking along a path and suddenly feels a stinging pain in his arm or some other part of his body, like the prick of a pin. Although
• [755] he cannot discover a puncture, the pain remains. The person therefore goes to the teyu, and he is able to remove the cause of the pain by rubbing his herbs over the affected spot until he re-
[761] moves from it a black hair ten to 15 centimeters long. This hair is from the gĕlyómp, and if the shaman had not removed it, the one
[75] afflicted by it would have had to die. To a certain extent one can protect himself from the hairs of the mountain spirit if, when returning home from a walk over the mountains or a night's march, he passes a firebrand over the feet and body, in order to burn off any hair of the gĕlyómp that might have penetrated.

776 Tũs, the "rainbow," lives on the banks of watercourses and
753 especially at springs. There are many tũs, and, to be sure, wherever there is water. There are tũs as large as a snake, colored red and yellow, and others only the size of a finger. People recognize sicknesses /273/ of the tũs by the fact that the afflicted one is covered all over with pimples and has to scratch himself constantly.
[821] If it rains when the sun is shining, tũs goes from the bank of the river, where he lives, into the sky and from there back again to earth in a semicircle. The rainbow is especially dangerous for children.

/274 cont./

554 herbs into their drinking-water canal. Now he had given it up,
754 however. To us he seemed to be merely an idle talker; he did
756 not give the impression of actually having received signs or of being serious about the matter, but rather it seemed as though he had merely learned a little by watching his father /275/ and was doing it mechanically without any inner concern. Francisco, too, had a father and grandfather as shaman predecessors. He was likewise rather ignorant, but apparently meant well. He did his best to help people.

756 Martin Chukue was completely absorbed by his calling and
753 duty, and he was well informed, serious, and dignified in his
761 shamanistic work. When the capitan of Calderas died, he was the shaman authorized to act for his residence, and he also conducted the purification ceremony after his burial. Martin explained the cause of death of the capitan as follows: The capitan had to die because the tũs had stolen the taff soul of the capitan. The capitan died with his left leg drawn up. He was very thin when he died, because he had not eaten anything for a long time, for
• [755] his taff soul had been stolen five years ago. At that time the sick man began feeling pain, and during the entire time he, Martin, had fought with the tũs, offered him medicines, and tried to appease him.

775 When the ũns soul (ũns also means "heart"!) leaves the body,
[774] then the person is ultimately dead. And, to be sure, ũns leaves
[827] the body by way of the upper arms, lower arms, finger tips. Shortly before it leaves the person, one may still perceive it very faintly as a pulse beat, and when the pulse beat ceases altogether, the ũns has left the body and immediately goes to heaven. No one could tell me exactly in what form it goes to heaven. In heaven, however, it again has the normal human appearance.
[755] When children are ill, wool threads are put around their wrists
[774] and ankles and drawn tightly in order to prevent the escape of the ũns, or at least to make it more difficult.

/275 cont./

775 [828] [774] Old Celia Uriaga of Calderas, who told us two stories, but is not a shaman herself, reported the following: When a person sleeps and dreams, his taff leaves the body, goes everywhere, and experiences what the person is experiencing in his dream. When the person dies, ũns then leaves the person by way of the veins of the upper and lower arm, where one can feel the pulse, and finally by way of the finger tips. Taff also leaves the person, but in the form of a human being with white clothing. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff either stays near the body in the grave or goes about on earth, although not as taff, but as áhimos (ghost). It can be seen by the shamans at night, but also by human beings at midnight or around two o'clock at night, in the form of a human figure sitting by the wayside. It is not a real human being, however, but more like a wind. /276/ Ahimos is generally at the burial place, there where the corpse is buried and where the bones are.

According to the account of the old téoi Felisa, the ũns leaves the body upon the death of a human being and goes to heaven. It leaves the body by way of the lower arms, hands, and finger tips. ● 755 Felisa herself tries to hold back the ũns of a dying person by blowing hard on his finger tips after she has previously taken a mouthful 775 763 [824] of the herbs čáyuts and ǰuwéz as well as brandy. At the same time, with the same herbs in her hands, she strokes the patient's arms from the finger tips upward, in order to hold back ũns. Taff leaves the human body before death. In doing so, it whistles. Felisa can see it. It wanders along a path, well dressed, and the shaman is able to bring it back by tearing its clothes with a very sharp-edged reed (nyſka), and then it is obliged to return to the body (cf. Ill. 199 /see p. 288/).

775 [825] Apart from the shamans, she is convinced that no one is able to see taff, except for dogs, when they sometimes howl for no apparent reason. Whereas ũns goes to heaven, taff remains on earth and goes 769 on living in its house as áhimos in the form of a breath of air. (No accessories are put in the grave with the dead, but on the following December 8, the Feast of the Immaculada, and recurrently each year, the relatives offer to the áhimos of their dead their favorite

/279 cont./

756 vigorously, then always rinses his mouth with brandy and spits it
765 out in a spray. After this final purification, standing in front of
783 the hole, he moves his staff several times in a circle through the air from below upward and stabs into the hole three times with the tip of his staff, as though he wanted to thrust something corporeal from above into the hole with the staff. Several times /280/ he paces off the entire place, beating with his staff, always starting from the right and squirting brandy to the left about ten times.

To conclude the ceremony, the hole is covered with a stone, and water containing ĩu herbs is poured over it. All the participants spit the herbs given to them by the shaman into a second hole about 50 centimeters away, rinse their mouths vigorously with brandy, and spit this also into the nearby hole. To conclude the ceremony lasting more than four hours, they are all given a swallow of brandy by the shaman and together spit this toward the left.

●755 If the teyu is called to a sick person, before the actual treat-
756 ment he must determine the cause of the illness in a special séance. Like all sickness ceremonies, it begins about eight o'clock in the evening and usually ends several hours after midnight. For his séances he uses a specific place (kaci) where, in the presence of the patient, he receives his signs. In cases of serious illness, the treatment may also take place in the house, but then, if possible, ajf and salt, things which Thunder does not like, should not be in the vicinity. In cases of particularly serious illness, the shaman may also go to a quiet place, free of human sounds and the barking of dogs, in order to receive his signs there alone.

Before the start of the séance, the patient must give the teyu half a fiber bag full of coca, a bottle of brandy, and a few cigars, since without these things it is impossible for the shaman to receive his signs. He thrusts his staff into the ground, a little to one side, and then he sits down opposite the patient. He now takes his medicinal herbs out of his fiber bag and first makes up two equal little packets of various mixed herbs, each of which he wraps in a maize leaf. With every herb that he takes from his fiber bag, he first makes a pass around his own body in order to stimulate his blood and to receive his signs better. It may already happen here

/280 cont./

755 756 that his signs tell him that his efforts will be in vain, because the patient must die. Only if the signs are favorable, do he and the patient start chewing the little packet of medicinal herbs. The shaman now takes his staff and spits some of the chewed medicinal herbs on it, to prevent the pest sent by nyic from possibly being transferred to him and killing him. Then he thrusts the tama into the ground with the point, in order to announce to Thunder that he does not wish to act badly and carelessly, but exactly in accordance with his shamanistic rules. He sets the bottle of /281/ brandy, into which he puts a stalk of the čayuts herb, beside his shaman's staff. If the stalk remains vertical, it is a good sign; if it falls to one side and goes under, it is a very bad omen. On the mouth of the bottle he also places a small calabash vessel, likewise containing the čayuts herb, which is supposed to prevent the pest from taking the shaman by surprise and killing him. He now puts a handful of coca into his mouth and starts to chew. Motionless, he gazes at his staff, ready to receive his signs. From time to time he takes more coca and lime, tells the patient that his signs are favorable, that his illness, which comes from the pest, will soon get better. Then he gets up, goes to his tama, and vigorously spits out the chew. He empties a whole calabash of brandy and squirts it into the air. Again he returns to his seat, once again takes coca and lime and a little cigar tobacco into his mouth, and again remains squatting motionless. After about an hour he spits the chew in the direction of the staff, the patient does the same, and then both get up. The shaman now tells the patient that Thunder has shown him the possibility of a cure. He will now go and gather his special medicinal herbs, and for a good purification the patient will have to bring a pound of coca leaves, six cigars, a liter of brandy and chicha, and, in addition, a few pounds of meat. The teyu urgently enjoins him not to take any of the medicine of the whites under any circumstances, for otherwise he must surely die. At this séance, as well as at others, the shamans all agreed that neither did they themselves leave the place of the séance nor did their souls leave their bodies to go wandering. The signs, to which alone they give heed, are the only characteristic of their experience.

/281 cont./

755 On the evening agreed upon for the purification from the pest,
756 the patient brings the shaman the required remedies, and the
783 latter divides everything into two parts, one to carry out the séance
[782] and the other as an offering for Thunder. He first takes the latter portion and goes to a particular place in order to offer it to Thunder. He spits part of the brandy into the air and drinks another part himself, as soon as Thunder has expressed his approval of the purification from the disease and his satisfaction over the gift.

[516] For the purification ceremony the teyu and the patient squat down on the ground next to each other, in the manner customary among the Paez. The teyu thrusts his staff into the ground and sets the brandy bottle beside it. Amid coca-chewing and brandy-drinking the hours flow by, broken only by an occasional spitting out of the chew on the part of the shaman. /282/ Through his signs he gradually learns the cause of the illness and also the necessary remedies, which he now hands over to the patient. He also places on his head a packet containing the same herbs, as protection against the evil ec spirit. The teyu now goes to one side and beats the air with his tama, in order to remove the pest that is present. Then he passes it up the entire body of the patient, beginning at the feet and ending at the head, in order to squeeze out, so to speak, the pest from the body of his patient from below upward. At various parts of the body, the hollow of the collarbone, the neck, and the head, he "sucks" out the pest. Into a hole dug a few meters in front of the place of the ceremony he now spits the contents of his mouth: coca and medicinal herbs, mixed with the pest sucked out of the patient. He then squirts a mouthful of brandy into the air, so that the pest will depart altogether, and drinks a further one himself, so that the pest will not enter his body. Now the patient is called. He must first spit into the same hole the mixture of coca and medicinal herbs which he has chewed the entire time, and then he, too, must take two swallows of brandy; he must squirt one into the air, and he swallows the other one. Further purifications of the patient follow, various herbs being passed over him and the pest being sucked out several times and spat into the hole. In conclusion there follows a bodily cleansing

/282 cont./

755 of the patient with water to which su and yakuma have been added
756 as medicinal herbs, so that he will now be completely freed of the
783 pest. Finally the teyu asks Thunder to prevent anyone from uncovering this hole in which the dangerous pest is buried. He further asks Thunder to help him in subsequent treatments of the sick later on. The patient is told that the signs are favorable, and he is again enjoined neither to use the medicines of the whites nor ever to pass this hole containing the pest.

757 Besides these two most important shamanistic ceremonies, the
756 treatment of the sick and the purification of the relatives after a
731 burial, the shaman's ability and his magical, supernatural powers are also called upon for preventive ceremonies and acts. This is particularly necessary if epidemics of disease -- smallpox, whooping cough -- occur in the village or in a family. In the first instance, the cabildo asks a shaman who is known to be able to speak with Thunder to conduct the proper protective ceremonies; in the latter instance, /283/ the oldest member of the afflicted family asks him. First a pig must be killed for this. A piece is cut from all the body organs on the left side, and everything is put into a new fiber
[782] bag. The shaman and the cabildo then set out in the afternoon for the lagoon in which Thunder is believed to live, in order to hand over to him the bag with the pieces of meat, with the request to avert the epidemic. During this time the women remaining behind have been preparing the rest of the meat for a meal, which, however, is eaten jointly only when, after twelve hours, the shaman and cabildo return from their ceremony.

758 For several cases of illness and death in one family the help of
783 a good shaman is likewise required. The pest is generally regarded
769 as the cause of these cases of death afflicting only one family, though according to a report by S. Bernal Villa, the deceased and angry members of the family are held responsible for this. In this case the eldest of the family provides brandy, coca, and tobacco, calls together the family members, and asks the shaman to come. The latter offers the angry ancestor spirits a fat pig that has first been tied in front of the house for a whole night, while the shaman during this time speaks to the spirits about whether they will accept the offering.

1: Nachtigall--302 E-5 (1962-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 196. Walkway of the bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Plate C

Ill. 197. The older sisters take care of their younger siblings as a matter of course and practice the duties of a woman from childhood on.

Ill. 198. Among the tasks of the women are the making of clothing for the family and the housework, including the fetching of firewood. Whereas the men carry heavy loads on their shoulders, the women use the forehead band.

/CXXIII/

Plate CI

Ill. 199. The shaman Felisa Ipia with her shaman's staff and the nyika reed. In the wool threads fastened to her staff she has gathered the souls of all the inhabitants of Santa Rosa. With the reed she tears apart the clothing of a soul about to leave a dying person. It must then return to its body and the person need not die.

Ill. 200. Gable post of a hunting hut with the skull trophy of a slain monkey. The skulls of the animal booty hung on the gable post, as well as the wing feathers of the birds killed, are supposed to guarantee further success in hunting. Below the skull trophy, the incised figure of a spirit besides the Christian cross.

Plate CII

Ill. 201. Woman grinding maize with the hand grindstone.

Ill. 202. Calderon music group. The instruments are the transverse flute, bass drum, drum, tambourine, and triangle.

/288 cont./

medicine men. To cure the patient, he divines which of the supernatural beings caused the illness, proceeds to placate him, and then prescribes medicines to the patient. If the placation is not successful, the patient literally sinks into despair. The indispensable articles for all curing are coca, tobacco, and aguardiente. The medicine men are persons well along in years and belonging to the masculine sex. They cannot cure the effects of sorcery, although they can protect themselves against it.

c) Fifty per cent of all illnesses, the informants state, are caused by sorcery, and by the same token 50 per cent of the deaths, since sorcery is incurable. The sorcerers conceal their activities, and it seems that all adults are potential sorcerers. The institution of sorcery is a true escape valve for the strong aggressive impulses of the natives and to some extent plays the role of a social regulator. Through it are channeled the jealousy, resentment, and vengefulness of the natives. The victims of sorcery are the most skillful and hard-working individuals, those who have a good house, good crops, and a growing number of domestic animals. Harvests and plantings generally are the object of sorcery. Sorcerers who are publicly unmasked are exposed to the anger of the community and even to exile, a measure taken not so much on account of their being sorcerers as of their being thieves. All sorcerers are thieves. Sorcery appears with considerable frequency in the symbolism of dreams.

Marriage.--Marriage is monogamous and patrilocal. Both the chroniclers and Dr. Gregorio Hernández de Alba speak of the custom of the year of probation to acquaint the man with the skill, energy, and fecundity of his future wife. A thriving institution in times past, it is now in sharp decline owing to the action of mission work. Obviously, the purpose of this institution is to find out whether the woman is hard-working, faithful, not a thief, and to understand her ways in order to establish a lasting union. Nowadays the Paez, before being married

/224 cont./

756 778 782 At the edge of the lagoon the teacher-curer digs a hole, over which, and from the end of the tama, he suspends the camarico. Thunder requests from the pupil 10, 20, or 30 centavos, coins which he deposits in the hole. Then, he lowers the pouch and covers the hole with stones and earth. The curer bathes the pupil with shu and shulape (1). Thunder

1. 1. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

draws near to receive other gifts which he requests by means of the signs, to state that the youth may learn how to cure, to prohibit him emphatically from collecting bad remedies (for sorcery), and to request him to be charitable with people. Last of all, he orders him to return home.

756 868 755 778 At the teacher's home, chicha and aguardiente are drunk, and meat is eaten with stew. Then the teacher presents remedies to the pupil and tells him that henceforth he will merely need to apply them, warning about the patients who are in a very serious condition, but with the help of God he should try to cure them.

756 787 [827] [755] The signs. The signs are reflex movements which manifest themselves in the musculature of the curer. "They are like a circulation" -- says one té eu, "as when a person's muscle twitches in the eye or hand. The interpretation of these signs is done by the curer."

[776] The signs come from Thunder or the Ghost. That is to say, from assisting spirits. There are also those who say that they come from God.

755 756 The signs are fundamental, basic in Paez medicine. Without them there cannot be curers, and there cannot be a curer who does not know how to interpret the signs. It is useless to have knowledge of the medicinal value of the plants. The curer is no more than an intermediary, a spokesman for

/224 cont./

the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain medicines correspond to certain signs. The tẽ eu must /225/ divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case. This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits. When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate. Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who cures.

The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation. If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery) suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If, for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the tẽ eu must visit his Kachĩ (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachĩ and practice the signs.

All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify something bad, while those on the right indicate something good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/225 cont./

Right:
The signs go down the leg: death; remedies will not help.
The signs climb up the foot and the tibia: a member of the family will die and go to heaven.
The signs go up the outer edge of the foot to above the ankle: the remedies will work.
The signs occur between the ankle and the heel and cross to the same spot on the

Left:
The signs go along the inner side of the foot: the pest is leaving; the patient is encouraged.
The signs go up the outer side of the foot: the sorcerer wins; the patient dies.
The signs go up from the ankle to the back of the knee: sorcery; field has a spell on it.
These same signs, but first

/226/

left side: contest between the Té eu and the sorcerer.
Calf (gemelluses): visit of a good woman; the ghost comes singing to point out the remedies.
Calf (outer part of the digits): a good man is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap, signs that go down: a person will die from the rainbow or ghost.
Thigh: the signs run to the back of the knee and disappear: the person will die; fierce pest; serious matter.
Signs go down from the groin to the foot: the

occurring on the right and immediately passing to the left: rainbow /arco/ and Ghost.
Calf (gemelluses): a sorceress is coming to visit the curer.
Calf (extending from the digits): a sorcerer is coming to visit the curer.
Kneecap: fear of the sorcerer because he is winning over the Té eu; fear, fright, disaster.
Thigh, the signs go down: bad person going by.
Rib (the tenth): bad person is coming.
Back of the hand: the ghost does not accept the remedies because they are incomplete.
Palm of the hand: the person

* /226 cont./

758 Right:
787 wife is about to
827 menstruate.
755 Rib (the tenth): the patient will die at once; sting of Kallumb.
The signs occur between the ring finger and heart: on the following day the person will wield a shovel to bury a dead person.
Palm of the hand: the person will receive a present; greeting from the ghost; improvement of the pest.
Palm of the hand and passes to the throat: Pijao "dirt."
Thumb and palm of the hand (simian line): the lost animal will appear, the signs indicate that it will be caught.
Biceps: a good person will ask him to be godfather at a baptism.
The signs go from the ear to the shoulder: the ears will be cut off.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the patient will improve; the stolen animal will appear.
Eye and down the nose: wake.

Left:
will die of the pest; the ghost did not accept remedies.

Signs in the arm: the echi is coming.
Biceps: same meaning as for the right side.
Wrist: someone will give a scare; he will be caught.
Shoulder and they make an arc through the chest: rainbow.
Cheekbone to the outer corner of the eye: the stolen animal was eaten.
Eye and down the nose: a dead person.

/226 cont./

When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to the left hand, the person is under a spell.

If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.

In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons.

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
273
276
[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul fiñi, fundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward,

/228 cont./

indicating hope, for if they moved from the knee to the foot, there would be no need to receive the coca, tobacco, or aguardiente, for the patient would be incurable. Only when the signs are favorable does he take the pouch of remedies received from the patient and pass it around in the same way as he did the remedies, with the aim of invoking Thunder and Kallumb, his helpers.

He orders the patient to chew the bundle of remedies which he presented to him not long before. He picks up the tama (5) in his hands and blows on it with the remedies that he

5. Cf. below, "The tama" /see pp. 17-18/.

is chewing, which are the same as those chewed by the patient, for the purpose of preventing the ptans ("dirt") sent by the sorcerers from surprising the curer and killing him. In this case he may have the mambe /lime to be chewed with coca, or the coca and lime together/ in his hand and nevertheless remain motionless, with blood running from his mouth. Then, and to the front, he drives in the tama, the weapon of Thunder, to indicate to him that he is not working in a bad way, but in such a way and in accordance with his teachings. Before putting it in the ground, he passes it around his body so that it will protect him from the ptans.

Next to the tama he puts the bottle of aguardiente, which he places a sprig of chayuts; if it remains upright and floats, it is a good sign, while if it tilts and sinks to the bottom, it is an omen of death. On top of the bottle he puts a small calabash to measure the aguardiente, in which is also put a sprig /229/ of chayuts; it serves as a preventive, for it prevents the ptans from catching the curer unprepared and killing him.

Then he puts a handful of coca in his mouth and begins to chew; he remains seated, almost motionless, his eyes trained on the room and on the tama, attentive to the slightest motion;

5:Bernal Villa--17 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

/233 cont./

75 783 7. The curer toasts Thunder with the chicha, sprinkling it in the air.

8. The curer washes the patient with a calabash of remedies. He fills up completely the hole that contains the "dirt," sprinkles the remaining aguardiente, and ends the cleansing with some final advice. It is 3:00 or 4:00 in the morning.

All treatment of illness is carried out with this cleansing procedure. That is to say, when the impurity (ptans) has been removed from the body, the health of the patient is restored. The curer combats the ptans. In a sense, the cleansing is a hard fight in which the curer is engaged.

756 The tama. The tama is a chonta staff about 40 centi-
755 meters long and indispensable for every cure.

While in other cultures the medicine man uses the maraca as an indispensable accessory in the art of curing, viewing it as having a mythical origin and thus a sacred character and magical properties, and while, according to Roth, certain piai of the Guianas use wooden dolls in their conjurations (6), among the Paez this little staff called tama

[113]

6. Métraux, Alfred. Le Shamanisme Chez les Indiens de l'Amerique du Sud Tropicale /Shamanism among the Indians of Tropical South America/." -- Acta Americana, Vol. II, No. 3, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944, pp. 217-218.

755 is used. In Santa Rosa, a curer-sorceress uses in her treat-
756 ments a wooden dolly dressed like the people, received, ac-
532 cording to the informant, from Thunder himself, and called
552 "Soft wind of Thunder."

[773] According to all the evidence, this name is derived from that mythical personage, more precisely that culture hero,

* /233 cont./

756 called Juan Tama, who enjoys the fame of having been the
[755] founder of pueblos, a victorious warrior, a good leader,
[532] legislator, and famed curer.
[552] The tama is a defensive and offensive weapon of a sacred
[773] character /234/ and used exclusively by the curers; it protects
[751] from the attacks of the ptans and wards them off. It is a gift
[787] from Thunder and his badge. In visions, it is the first thing
[428] that he shows. When the curer dies, it may be inherited by
a young curer, but generally it is left near the cemetery.

*756 A curer from Calderas, possibly the one most imbued with
539 his mission to defend the health of the people, states that the
tama was left from a deed performed by the Virgin in defense
of her children. On a certain occasion the sea was rising
implacably over the surface of the earth, putting the lives of
men in grave danger. The Virgin took pity on them, brought
out the tama, and made the motions now made by the curer.
The waters retreated. She left this staff for the man who be-
came a curer. This was the origin of the tama.

Another curer from the Parcialidad of San Andrés gave us
the following account concerning the origin of the tama:

"The elders say that the tama was left by Thunder himself.
A man had a potato field and a rancho in the montaña. He
went to harvest it with his son. One afternoon the boy refused
to accompany his father, preferring to remain in the rancho.
On the following day he disappeared without leaving a trace
anywhere. All the steps taken by the father to locate his
whereabouts were unsuccessful. On the eighth day, the boy
reappeared in the rancho. The father naturally inquired as to
his whereabouts and his activities. He replied that he had gone
to the señor papa, who had given him the stick he carried in
his hands, called tama, and aguardiente and remedies. The
aguardiente was cold water from a lagoon, and the remedies
were in a pouch. No sooner had he finished his tale than he
fell into a deathlike trance. On the fifteenth day, at death's
door, he asked his father to hand him the tama, for the señor

/234 cont./

756 papa had told him to defend himself with it and in case of ill-
539 ness to take the remedies that he had given him. He extracted their juice and took it. He rapidly improved. He applied them to others and noted that they soon regained their health. With the tama and the remedies he became the best curer in the entire region. He died when he was an old man"

755 To combat ptans, the tama is used in conjunction with a
756 plant called "nica."
824

Theory of illness. Sicknesses are caused by the state of
753 bodily impurity called "dirt" /sucio/, cold /hielo/, or /235/
783 ptans. The causes are essentially magical and are interpreted more as a premeditated and inimical attack than as punishment by supernatural beings. There are those who state that sicknesses are sent by God, but if one repents, they are soon taken away. Be it said at once that this concept is neither general nor rooted in tradition. Sicknesses, then, do not have natural causes; nor do accidents, since they are provoked by sorcerers.

Impurities are caused by the following:

a) When a person who has been at a wake has not had himself "cleansed."

b) When people dress in the clothes of a deceased person without washing them with the appropriate remedies.

c) When the house where the corpse was watched over has not been cleansed.

d) When a woman does not spend her period of menstruation in the Du yate léchukue.

e) When a woman does not bathe after menstruation.

f) When the placenta has not been suitably buried in the appropriate place and with the required remedies.

g) When a man sleeps with a menstruating woman.

h) When the man who serves food to a menstruating woman has not bathed his body or washed his clothes.

i) When the woman, after observing the diet of childbirth, does not bathe.

/236 cont./

755 Since sicknesses have a magical origin, the treatments are
783 also magical in character. "The cleansing" is indispensable in every treatment, with its attendant remedies and movements.

165 Symptoms of sicknesses. Among the sicknesses clearly
164 identifiable by the natives are smallpox and whooping cough, given their characteristic symptoms. Some of the informants, not many, to be sure, state that their children died of such sicknesses.

165 On the whole, child mortality, which is rather high, is
761 said to be caused by, in order of frequency and in generic terms,
776 pest, Echi, and sorcery. The cases of death by the ghost and rainbow are few.

753 The symptomatologies given for the sicknesses are very
776 vague and even confused with one another. The Echi, ghost, and rainbow sting, not really the body, but the soul, leaving hairs in the body that cause fevers and sharp pains at the spot where they are found. These hairs, when placed in the palm of the hand, move as if they were alive. They differ in color: the red ones are from Kallumb, the reddish blue ones from
[755] the rainbow, and the black ones from Echi. The hairs are re-
[783] moved by rubbing with remedies prior to the cleansing.

/237/ It is said that the sting of pallumb /sic/ causes heaviness, lack of appetite, pains in the head and body, fever, and even insanity.

753 When the arco /literally "bow"/, called kitús, is referred
776 to, it is nothing other than the rainbow, which comes out at
821 any hour of the day, accompanied by a rainy drizzle, the "rainbow meow," which causes scabies (chande) in children
[755] when it falls upon them; it is not harmful for adults. The curers,
[789] and they alone, from their ranchos blow chewed remedies toward it, tobacco, chandur, flushamuanda, and yacuma
[755] negua, in order to make it disappear quickly. Other people chew remedies, when they have them at hand, and rub them on their bodies. There is a general idea that the rainbow causes

/237 cont./

753 cramps in the body, and furthermore that sorcerers see it in the
776 form of a turkey impelled to peck people.
821

It seems obvious that what the Indians call Echimbe (red
753 Echi) or candelilla fina /thin glowworm/ is a firefly /luciérnaga/
825 somewhat difficult to capture and extremely fierce. They differentiate it perfectly well from the fire beetle /cocuyos (cucuyos)/. They say that it is an animal that God produced in
[755] order to harm the Christians. The curers call them and catch them in their Kachí, while other Indians, chewing coca, catch them anywhere and bring them to the curer to be buried.
[774] They believe that their fierceness is due to the fact that the
[829] souls of the Pijao are incarnated in them.

753 The symptoms of the sting of Echi are vague and imprecise and refer solely to bodily pains.

The symptoms of Pijao "dirt" are recognized by respiratory difficulties.

164 They differentiate perfectly well the venereal diseases,
757 which seem to be quite widespread in the acculturated parcialidades. In Calderas they are said to have spread widely among both sexes, without respect to age, and to have been treated with copper sulphate, for the remedies of the Indians were of no use. In Santa Rosa antibiotics are used. A curer in that parcialidad maintains that those diseases were brought from La Plata by wandering women and that it befell him to treat two cases: one was serious and the patient died; the second, not very advanced, he treated with yukchacha, montaña barbasco, and fisa (bitopat or bodoquero). He administered the juice for six days and subjected the patient to a diet of chicken exclusively.

755 Remedies. The remedies used by the Paez curer are
757 vegetal. As a rule they are prescribed in combination. Thus:
/238/ To clean away the ptans:
[783] Yacuma blanca, ul fiñi, fiundayuskei, shugues, chandur, guepeyuskey, chayuts.

/238 cont./

755 For the sting of Kallumb:

757 Chandur, ñushamuenda, white and yellow guapeshú, nica, tobacco, chayuts.

For the sting of Echi:

Tatsé, ul ñiñi, yacuma blanca, shugues, tayuskei, siempre viva, shulape, shu, shupeñiñi.

For the sting of Rainbow:

Chandur, ñushamuanda, black yacuma, ul ñiñi, chayuts.

All the above remedies are cooling and serve to allay fever.

●755
757
083
824

/239 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Limoncillo	Limoncillo	Cymbopógon citrátus.	Infusion with panela and aguardiente against coldness for a woman in childbirth. Also used against diarrhea.
Ñica	?	?	For combatting ptans. For hair of ghost.
/240/ Ñundayuskei	Pateperro	?	Against ptans. The juice for diarrhea; with tobacco, for stomach-ache. The water from this for toothache; spit out half the candle /candela/ to help allay the illness.
Shu•	?	Sphagnum sp.	For combatting ptans.
Shugués•	?	Peperomia sp.	For cleaning away ptans.

755
757
824
783

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Shulape	?	?	Against echi and for coughing.
Shupeñiñ*	?	Peperomia sp.	Echi and whooping cough.
Siempreviva		?	Tied to the head it allays pain.
Muahi	Tabaco	Nicotiana tabacum L.	With coca, it makes the "signs" circulate. Crushed, it checks hemorrhages. For combatting ptans.
Tap.	?	?	See Bichach.
Tatsé	?	?	For coughing; to restrain the pulse (us) when a child is frightened. Against ptans.
Tayuskei*		Peperomia sp.	For infections of the umbilicus. Whooping cough.

5:Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1958) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

755
783
824

/240 cont./

Native Name	Spanish Name	Scientific Name	Use
Ul fiin*	Culebrina, pepa de arco, monito almizclillo	Hibiscus abelmoschus L.	Ptans, echi, rainbow.
Yacuma blanca		?	Ptans.
Umsim*	Yacuma negra	Myrcia acuminata DC. Vell aff.	Against the rainbow.
Yuskei*		Scleria cattarinensis Boeck.	Ptans

5:Bernal Villa,-29 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

824 The plants marked with an asterisk were identified by the
[128] Herbario Nal. Colombiano, in particular by Dr. Jesús M.
[137] Idrobo.

[127] For the others, we were guided by the work, Plantas Utiles de Colombia /Useful Plants of Colombia/, by Dr. E. Pérez Arbeláez, published by the Imprenta Nacional de Bogotá in 1947.

75 The té eu and the community. In every culture, medicine
182 performs an eminently humanitarian function. Its nature is
171 sociological. No matter what its methods may be, its purpose is to save human lives. It combats illness, but also prevents it.

75 Among the Paez, medicine cures and prevents. The
182 community and the family perform special ceremonies intended to achieve these two purposes of medicine.

● 755 When the pest (epidemic) has spread through the com-
*756 munity, threatening its subsistence, the authorities (cabildo)
182 invite the curer to conjure away the danger by performing the
[734] wé ká.

When the illness prevails in a single family, markedly decreasing its members, the eldest invites the curer to perform
[765] the ut ká. After every burial the people must remove the ptans
[783] from their bodies and from the house where the death occurred. The curer is the only one who can do this.

241 The first fruits of plantings made on new lands not culti-
*756 vated before cannot be consumed until the curer has performed
783 the cleansing ceremonies. Thus, it is the curer who defends
182 the family -- preservation of the species -- who purifies the
789 harvests -- preservation of the individual -- and who also defends the community, warding off by means of his conjurations
*756 the epidemics and the individuals who threaten it. In 1952,
789 before an imminent attack by subversive armed groups on the
182 Parcialidad of Santa Rosa, the curer warded it off with maní de montaña /literally, "montaña peanut"/, chewed and blown on the path by which they were to come.

/241 cont./

731 Since the ceremonies mentioned have some differential
● 755 aspects, we shall look at them in detail.
← 756 Wé ká (pest-send). When the pest appears in a community,
783 smallpox, whooping cough, which are rapidly finishing off /242/ the population, the cabildo takes the initiative for conjuring away the danger. It requests from the people coca, tobacco, and aguardiente, they arranges for a pig and invite a famous curer who can talk to Thunder. From the edge of a lagoon, by means of good remedies and the help of Thunder, the curer must ward off the pest.

[782] They sacrifice the pig. From its left side they take a small piece from all the organs and place them in a new pouch. They gather glowworms (Echis) and go to the lagoon. The retinue made up of the curer and the cabildo leaves at three in the afternoon, and twelve hours later they will be back at the point of departure. Meanwhile, the women have been busy preparing the meat, without eating a single piece of it. They have not slept either, for they have an obligation to wait for the retinue wide-awake. When they arrive, the meat and stew are distributed, and the chicha and aguardiente are drunk. With this the people are relieved and the pest is banished from the community.

755 Ut ká ("dirt"-send). This is exclusively a family affair.
* 756 When the members of a family are dying, there is ptans, says
783 an informant, while another one thinks, with more reason, that it is the angry spirits of the dead who want to finish off the family. In such a case, the eldest of the survivors arranges for coca, aguardiente, and tobacco, gathers the family members together, and calls the curer.

[787] The latter divines up to eight or ten nights. He captures up to 12 glowworms. He asks for a castrated and fat pig. He ties it up for an entire night and divines as to whether the souls of the dead members of the family will accept it. At dawn he orders it killed. The slaughterers, the chicha-makers, the carriers of the sugar cane, and the women cooks are not

/242 cont./

755 members of the family, that is to say, they do not carry the
*756 surname of those who are performing Ut ká. None of them
783 may work, not even at making hats or pouches.
[461] The hog is skinned and washed over a hole; the hair and offal in general must fall there. When Ut ká is not being performed, the hog is skinned in a trough. Meanwhile, the curer divines as to how much meat is wanted by the souls. The latter specify the quantity, and the té eu translates it on a small stick, which is immediately passed to the slaughterers, who must cut out the pieces in accordance with this measure and put them into a pouch. The curer drinks aguardiente and also has assistants who help in perceiving the signs.

[787] [782]

[252] /243/ The women prepare the maize for "mute" /stewed corn/, make small tortillas, as many as there are souls of the dead in the family. They also prepare every kind of fruit and food, plantains, arracacha, bread, yuca, bananas, granadillas, cucumbers, maize, eggs, meats, etc., to protect them against the ptans. They put a little piece of the foods into the pouch.

[262]

755 They also prepare some wooden dolls, in a number equal
*756 to that of the dead. They dress them like Indians: hat, poncho,
783 trousers, shirt. About 40 meters from the house they dig a
532 grave just as they do to bury the dead: a rectangular cavity with a lateral chamber. The curer weighs out two eggs of coca, picks up two cigars and a bottle of aguardiente. At about eight at night all those from the family leave, except those who are not. The cleansing is about to be performed. Then black clouds, like balls, gather. The curer blows remedies toward them. After two hours, the clouds go toward the left, clearing the horizon and leaving the stars visible in the immensity of space. The curer proceeds with the burial. In the lateral chamber of the tomb he places the dolls (representations of the souls) and a candle of laurel wax, after blowing the remedies at them. He closes up the chamber with a stone and then puts in the glowworms and the pouch of food.

1 [i.e. the family members--Analyst]

/243 cont./

755 He fills the grave[1] with earth and proceeds with the cleansing
756 of the members of the family. They return home. All the
783 workers come out, and again he cleanses all of them. Only then can they go inside. The women have all the food prepared with half of the pig, for the other half belongs to the curer. Chicha and aguardiente are drunk and then the food is served. When dawn breaks, the usual liquors are being consumed. The curer leaves and other people take charge of bringing him his provision. The curer receives it, gives thanks, and hangs it outside the house. He can eat it only when he has killed more glowworms.

With this the Ut ká is finished and the pest has been warded off from the family.

*756 Ut peu ("dirt"-wash). Immediately after the burial, and
764 on the bank of a river or a spring, the washing of the clothes
783 and the cleansing of the people are done. The curer prepares three calabashes of remedies made up of (1) water and cow dung, (2) with rue, bitopiskue, flundayuskei, dachak (curíbano /Scleria floribunda/), crushed, and (3) with shu and shulape.

/244/ With these, and in the order given, the people wash their clothes and their bodies. The clothes of the deceased are washed by the heirs.

The curer, after washing his own feet with the same remedies, remains seated, perceiving the signs. He then prepares another calabash of remedies with shú, shulape, and yuskei, for washing the hands of all those present.

He starts cleansing the people, who are seated on stones. The curer goes to the left and comes from there, beating with the tama. On reaching the first person to be cleansed, he performs the same acts already mentioned, doing the same with the others. He vomits the sucked-out "dirt" into a hole, where the people also cast their chew of coca, tobacco, and yuskei. Then the medicine man washes his hands with aguardiente and the remedy previously prepared. Everyone

1/ [i.e. the grave into which the dolls as representations of the souls, have been placed -- Analyst]

* /252 cont./

756 They are very tractable, friendly, and in our cultural
156 terms we would say that they have a marvelous gift for dealing
157 with people.

[886] When they grow old, they cease to perceive the signs.
[787] They believe that when a curer dies, his death is heralded
[821] by thunder. They live in permanent tension to counter the
[763] attacks of sorcerers. At the slightest symptom, they go to their kachí to divine and to take the appropriate precautions. They eat little so as not to sleep at night; they do not suffer from insomnia. They refrain from sexual relations and from ají during their treatments.

[731] They attract the entire concern of the community when epidemics occur. The true curers, those conscious of their profession, are temperate, engrossed in the fight against sickness, and of a kindly disposition. They inspire trust and do not show egoism; they readily explain the secrets of their profession.

* 756 Competition among the Tẽ eu. Some rivalry seems to
578 exist among the curers, and the natives even list the zones of action of the curers. It is certain that a curer will boast of having overpowered another in the latter's own area of practice. A curer from Santa Rosa tells how he overpowered a colleague.

● 755 The informant went to give treatments to a white patient
* 756 at Alto de Atarraya. There he found another curer who was
578 giving remedies that were useless. The patient provided for them very well, with abundant chicha and aguardiente. The new arrival drank with care. His colleague had already eaten the pork, but the patient was following /253/ him. The two curers prepared to fight. The new curer took his tama and his coca and at nine at night prepared to divine. His assisting spirit told him that the other one had given false remedies. Thus he had to learn the effective remedies. He discovered that the harm had been done by a native servant girl, along with some neighbors who did not like him. At once he called in the cook in order to question her and make sure of what she had

/253 cont./

755 done; she would have to confess, or else he would have her
756 arrested. She was wholly to blame. The servant girl took
578 fright and replied that perhaps she might be responsible, since at one time she had picked up an echi and put it in an ají bush. And it was this angry echi that was now killing her employer. At once the curer went to the ají bush, removed the echi, and blew fresh remedies at it. He set about divining anew and found out that the rainbow had also put hairs on him. On the following day he removed them. The patient recovered; it was proved that he was a good curer, and demonstrated that the other one did not know anything.

754 The Té eu and the sorcerer. It is said that a sorcerer can
756 at the same time be a good curer, but we know perfectly well that the Ghost and Thunder do not give their knowledge to the sorcerers. On the other hand, when a té eu is asked for information about the remedies of sorcerers, they invariably answer that they know nothing about them, for if they were to learn about these remedies they would lose their wisdom.

The curers believe that they are constantly pursued by
75 the sorcerers. Yet, they are able to kill them. A curer from
539 Santa Rosa related his success to us as follows:
774 "When I was a young boy, I was clever and mischievous; I already knew remedies. On one occasion a sorcerer declared his enmity toward me because I was becoming a good curer. I fell ill, and the signs indicated to me my approaching death. In Huila there lived a good curer, and I went there with plenty of coca and aguardiente. He told me that I would die if he did not go to work at once. It was sorcery, and he had to kill the sorcerer. I would have to stay with him for at least a month. 'Let us go to work and dig a hole in order to kill that fellow,' he said to me. He made the first hole, which we used for several nights, for the sorcerer whom we were seeking was very clever. He would call the soul and it would come, but it did not allow itself to be caught; it was very suspicious. The sorcerer was very dangerous, he had killed my mother and my brothers. We went on working. The

/322 cont./

231 arracacha. Dogs, cats, and pigs live, the first on kitchen refuse, the second by hunting mice, and the last on grasses and roots from the thickets. They are not familiar with breeds of cattle, hogs, and sheep. Only the guinea pig is regarded as American, while the other animals are said to be genuinely Spanish.

[236] Sheep seem to have emotional value because they provide the wool for people's clothing. They are kept with affection and rarely sold or eaten.

Dogs also seem to have emotional value because of being the guardian of the houses and fields. In addition, they have symbolic value: they are the iron curtain, the protective barrier against the dark memory of the Pijao. If the latter were to reappear again, the natives argue, they would not be able to approach /323/ the houses, because dogs live there, which would inspire fear in the Pijao, for they are so dangerous for them that mere contact with their footprints or their hair would kill them. In the legends and tales there is frequent reference to these de-
[552] fensive concepts. The dogs have special names: Guagás (white),
[685] kuchi (black), salgento, pitán, policía. Dogs that eat sheep are invariably killed with a shotgun without previous consultation with the owner.

[262] Guinea pigs are the favorite food of children. They kill
[252] them by strangling them and eat them boiled. These animals are
[782] not used as offerings to the Duende. Nor do they serve as presents
[755] for friends or relatives. They are also used to combat mental illness by covering the patient's forehead with the entrails of the still living animal.

235 They "cuidan" /show special attention/ to favorite persons
[554] with chickens and eggs. They have mingas with turkeys. Eggs
[262] are consumed, but in general they are sold.
[432] They use the honey and the wax from the hives of wild bees.
222 The honey, they say, is good for persons who suffer from "cold."
237 With the wax they soften hide lassos, and they occasionally use it
[757] for illumination. Domestic hives do not exist.

231 Wild animals, such as parrots, chicaos /a kind of bird/, squirrels, and micos, are never domesticated.

?:Hernández de Alba F 5,4(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

requires that only the patient fast. He spits coca juice on various parts of the sick man's body, and at night performs a ritual to "take out the dirt," i. e., the cause of the disease. In the course of his treatment, the shaman goes out to a hill to gather fireflies. He places them in a vessel and buries them, as they are supposed to be the harmful evil spirits sent by the person who caused the sickness. They are thought to turn against the person who sent them, whom the shaman identifies by his shadow, which he detects in the darkness of the night.

THE CULTURE OF THE PIJAO

Despite 48 expeditions prior to 1611 against the *Pijao*, one of the most fearsome and savage people in Colombia, the Spaniards learned little about their culture. Friar Pedro Simón collected the most details regarding their usages and customs.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Pijao food was very similar to that of the peoples previously described. The most common cultivated plants were maize, yuca, arracacha, beans, potatoes, and other roots and tubers; and many fruits, such as avocados (cura), papayas, plums, pineapples, and uchuva (a kind of cherry). The Indians got many fish from the rivers, especially the Magdalena River, and on the mountains they hunted pumas and "ocumares," a sort of anteater. They cultivated vegetables, but not fruit trees, in fields which the Spaniards always sought to destroy and burn.

HABITATIONS

Dwellings were spacious and high. They had walls of wood and mud (bahareque) whitewashed with clay or white earth, and were provided with furnishings, such as wooden chairs. The conquerors found the chief, Carlacá or Calacá, sitting in state in one of those chairs in his house. Some people lived temporarily under the shelter of trees and palms, perhaps only while farming.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The *Pijao* generally went entirely naked, hence the name "Pinao" (men of large sex) given by the Spaniards, a word which soon became "Pijao." They painted their bodies with the substance obtained from the seeds of the arnotto tree, and some groups wore small cotton blankets (mantas). Men and women protected their heads and long hair with hats, not unlike bonnets, woven of palm leaves. They adorned their bodies with many feathers in a manner which the Spaniards described as "quaint and odd liveries made of feathers in various and pleasant colors," and wore some gold ornaments. They

[pp. 957 ff Not processed]